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AUTHOR Ortiz, Flora Ida
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ABSTRACT

This study looked at the occupational positions that constitute educational administration and analyzed how they are characterized and structured. Data were collected between September, 1974, and April, 1979, principally from southern California school districts. The method of data collection was ethnographic observation in schools and interviews with 350 school administrators and other school personnel. Inspection of documents provided information regarding official job descriptions and expectations. Results indicated that the broadest structure encompassing educational administration consists of three parts: white males administering and managing adults, women instructing children, and minorities directing and containing other minorities. Each of these structures is composed of positions that lead to specific careers. The structures contribute to the perpetuation of the present system. Each of the positions can be further characterized by its hierarchical placement, its organizational space (consisting of differing working environments), its opportunities to develop intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships, and its activities. Moreover, the posts within each of the groups differ in their degree of opportunity and power. (Author/JM)

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THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

Flora Ida Ortiz
University of California, Riverside

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ABSTRACT

This ethnographic study reports on the structure of educational administration in public school organizations. The broadest structure encompassing educational administration consists of white males administering and managing adults, women instructing children and minorities directing and containing other minorities.

Each of these structures are composed of positions which lead to specific careers and the perpetuation of the existing system. Each of the positions can be further characterized by their hierarchical placement, organizational space consisting of differing working environments, opportunities to develop intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships and activities. Moreover, the posts within each of the groups differ in their degree of opportunity and power.

The Structure of Educational Administration in
Public School Organizations

Methodology

Data for the study reported upon were collected between September 1974 and April 1979. Most of the data were collected in Southern California school districts. However, some follow-up data collection extended to Northern California, Texas and Arizona.

The method for data collection was ethnographic. Extensive observation of school sites, administrators at work, meetings, informal gatherings and other settings was conducted. Interview data were collected from 350 school administrators. Administrators were defined as those who were occupying school positions which required the California State Administrative Credential.

The school administrators consisted of 127 women, 223 men, 55 Hispanic women, 17 Black women, 20 Hispanic men, 15 Black men, 55 white women and 188 white men. The various positions represented were: 15 vice-principals, 82 elementary principals, 69 secondary principals, 22 directors, 3 coordinators, 8 specialists, 8 supervisors, 27 special projects coordinators, 2 special projects specialists, 12 special projects supervisors, 2 area administrators, 17 associate superintendents, 22 assistant superintendents, 23 deputy superintendents and 20 superintendents.

Interview data were also collected from other school personnel. A total of 48 persons were interviewed consisting of 7 school board members, 8 parents, 2 teacher aides, 2 secretaries and 29 teachers. Five conversational reports

with students are also included.

Thirty-one school districts are represented. The reason for this extensive coverage is that as subjects were located according to position, their placement was in any of a number of school districts. The districts ranged in size from enrollments of 2893 to 721,043. All of the school districts which are represented contain a central office.

The inspection of documents provided information regarding official job descriptions and expectations. Other written materials included personnel directories, listings, vacancy notices and proposals for various programs.

School Administration: Theoretical Framework

The structure of school administration has generally been thought to be hierarchical with few levels available to position holders. Another group of researchers has viewed school administration as structured along staff and line positions (Charters, 1964; Lortie, 1975).

This study set out to show that the educational administration structure is more complex than this and that positions can be differentiated along several dimensions. The broadest structure encompassing educational administration consists of white males administering and managing adults, women instructing children and minorities directing and containing other minorities.

Each of these units are composed of positions which lead to specific careers and the perpetuation of the existing system. In order to understand this structure the following concepts are used to delineate the positional characteristics and to lay out the resulting career lines.

The hierarchical concept (Weber, 1969) denotes differences due to rank or level. That is, every position is placed below and/or above others. The

organizational space concept (Katz & Kahn, 1966) denotes differences in organizational positions regarding three important aspects: the working environment, opportunities to develop intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships and opportunities to engage in meaningful activities (Ortiz, 1972). The working environment may be evaluated in terms of the physical characteristics: 1) central and visible location; 2) cleanliness and pleasantness; 3) proximity to the organizational leaders, and 4) quality of furnishings and office equipment.

Intensive personal relationships are measured in terms of frequency and duration of interaction. Extensive interpersonal relationships are measured in terms of quantity and variety of relationships. Establishment of intensive interpersonal relationships with immediate superiors and peers is requisite for successful organizational participation. The establishment of extensive interpersonal relationships with subordinates and more distant superiors is likewise necessary for successful incorporation into the organization.

Organizational spaces also provide the occupant with differential opportunities to engage in professional activities. Professional activities are defined as those which are directly related to the organization's "mission" e.g., meeting with the school board to approve personnel procedures or presenting a research report to the professional association at the annual convention. The continuous and increasing participation in such activities insures membership and increases the likelihood of mobility within the organization.

The deposits of opportunity and power concepts (Kanter, 1977) denote differences in degree of opportunity and power which are present in organizational positions. Opportunity is defined as "a more dynamic concept in which

it is the relationship of a present position to a larger structure and to anticipated future positions that is critical" (161). This is to say that positions are important in relation to others and they must contain the promise of upward movement.

Opportunity positions are characterized in the following ways: the positions provide for more frequent career reviews than others; they maximize the exposure of the position holder; position holders engage in project assignments to task groups with more senior people; "two hats" may be required, i.e., more connections and knowledge of more than one function are necessary (Kanter, 1977:133). Positions which are restrictive in any of the above ways are limited in the opportunities that they can provide for the individuals occupying them.

Power is defined as the "ability to get things done, to mobilize resources, to get and use whatever it is that a person needs for the goals he or she is attempting to meet" (166). Power positions provide informal political influence, access to resources, outside status, and sponsorship and mobility prospects. Organizational activities which route individuals to power are: 1) those which are extraordinary such as new ventures, or pulling off risks; 2) those which are visible such reorganization, and 3) those which are relevant (176-181).

Power may also be acquired through others. Kanter states, "In a large complex system, it is almost a necessity for power to come from social connections, especially those outside of the immediate group. Such connections need to be long-term and stable and include sponsors, peers and subordinates" (181). Although illusive, power is that force which is the most desired within an organizational setting. Individuals wishing to establish organizational

careers assume power will be acquired.

Applying the theoretical framework presented above, educational administration positions can now be described along specific dimensions and placed within the organization so that the complexity of the structure may be understood.

Data for the description of these positions were gathered from those which required a State of California Administrative Credential. Therefore, each position which is presented is considered an administrative one.

In school administration, the internal hierarchical structure occupied primarily by white males consists of vice-principal, elementary principal, secondary principal, central office administrator, assistant, deputy, associate superintendent and superintendent.

The Vice-principal

In medium-sized to large school districts the vice-principal is an important administrative entry level position. This position tends to be one to "try out" administrators. It is not normally considered a legitimate administrative position, but it is nevertheless considered important because it provides a means for departing from teaching in a gradual way.

Hierarchy

This position is above that of the teacher and below that of the principal.

Organizational Space

(Working Environment)

The most pronounced change between the teacher's working environment and that of the vice-principal is the acquisition of a private office and the relinquishment of a classroom. Another change is in the probable location

of the working area. The vice-principal is more likely to be closer to the principal. This environment would in most cases be judged to be an improvement over that of the teacher in terms of increasing privacy and proximity to superiors.

(Interpersonal Relationships)

The vice-principalship offers opportunities for interaction with students and teachers from throughout the school. Therefore, the possibilities for developing extensive interpersonal relationships have been greatly enhanced. Furthermore, being physically located closer to the principal and being his assistant now provides the person with the opportunity to develop intensive interpersonal relationships with his superior. This increases the likelihood that he will also be in contact with other school administrators. This position therefore, does change the degree of intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships.

(Activities)

Another change is regarding the kinds of activities in which the person is engaged. As vice-principal the individual first of all helps the principal make decisions regarding the school. This is a change from making decisions regarding instruction in his/her classroom. The change is for a broader and a more general area. Three basic distinctions can be made. The vice-principal has increased his area of function from the classroom to the school. Also, the function itself has increased from that dealing solely with instruction to that dealing with school administration and management. Third, the vice-principal is working closely with another adult, the principal. As a teacher, he/she tended to work alone with students. Decisions were personally made without much consultation or discussion

(Lortie, 1968; 1975). As a vice-principal he/she is obligated to discuss, consult and finally reach consensus on school decisions. The development of this relationship is important. This opportunity also avails the candidate to develop important interpersonal skills. Therefore, the position of the vice-principal provides these opportunities without committing the organization or the individual to an administrative career.

Opportunity

The position of the vice-principal is a "stepping-stone," a "grooming" or an interim position. It is not likely that a career can be established on this position.

Nevertheless, the position contains a critical degree of opportunity. It is a position which can mean the difference between an administrative or teaching career. The "opportunity" exists because it places the individual alongside the principal, it affords the person expanded and different experiences, and it places the individual where he may display publicly his skills, attitudes and knowledge. Its temporariness is a positive characteristic in that the individual must leave the position, so that the chances of assuming the principalship are increased.

The Principal

Movement from the vice-principal is inevitable. For those who advance, the most likely position which is assumed is the principalship. In order to obtain the principal's position, it is necessary to have an administrator's credential. In most states, one of the requirements for the administrative credential is 3-5 years of teaching experience. Most principals have taught at least five years. The principal's position is permanent. It is also

possible for a person to hold a principal's position for the duration of an administrative career. The elementary principalship is particularly prone to this kind of permanance (Gross and Trask, 1976; Covel, 1977; Wolcott, 1973: 207).

The elementary, the junior high or middle school, and the high school principalship are the three administrative positions at the building level. The elementary principalship may be assumed by teachers from any level, content area, or area of specialization. High school teaching experience and/or high school vice-principalship experience is of greater importance in secondary principalship positions.

Hierarchy

The principalship positions differ from each other in terms of their hierarchical placement, the character of their internal organizational space, and the degree to which they contain opportunity and power. Each difference will now be presented.

The elementary principalship is the lowest administrative position in the hierarchy of school administration. Elementary schools are the most numerous, are predominantly staffed by women, and the clients are very young children. Their clients are drawn from a single and smaller area (unless integration efforts require otherwise). This contributes to a more limiting position. Wolcott's (1973) study indicates that persons holding the elementary principalship are those interested in staying there. He states, "In the principalship, at least among Ed's colleagues, career commitment was generally taken to mean a commitment to the position of elementary school principal and to one's school district as well" (207).

In contrast, Hemphill, et al. (1965) found that

> despite general statifaction with educational administration as a career choice, most secondary principals are not satisfied to remain in their present position. Only about one-quarter indicated that they had no desire to move to another position. Many aspire to the superintendency, while others would move to a principalship in a larger school (10).

Organizational Space

(Working Environment)

The working environment of the elementary principalship is more confined than that of the other principalship. For example, the secondary principal's geographical area is greater and more extensive. Likewise, the office area is larger and more complex. In brief, the organization that principals head differ in complexity and the elementary principalship is the smallest and least complex.

(Interpersonal Relationships)

Principals do not have a clearly defined superior. Directors, specialists, coordinators and associate superintendents of either elementary or secondary content areas may serve as supervisors. But, it is not likely that a single person is responsible for all elementary and secondary principals. The structure is such that elementary and secondary curriculum experts, who report to associate superintendents supervise principals. Principals, in turn, find themselves fragmented among the experts, but most seriously, far from the superintendent. This structure mitigates against the establishment of intensive relationships with superiors. There is an additional difficulty. The experts who supervise principals tend to be staff members of the organization. These individuals are not likely to be able to aid a principal in advancing.

There's another problem associated with the development of intensive interpersonal relationships. That is that principals and their superiors are in different areas of the school district. Principals rarely see their superiors. The result is that principals have to seek ways to interact with their superiors. Additionally, they must establish patterns of interaction in order to retain and develop relationships. Elementary and secondary principals differ in the degree to which they can find means for increased interaction.

In school districts, the number of elementary principals exceeds that of any other type of principal. This could be a source of power among them, but this fact also contributes to other consequences. Because there are so many elementary principals, it is problematic for the superintendent to know them all in order to develop intensive relationships. Therefore, for a given elementary principal it is more difficult to gain and retain the attention of the superintendent. This is equally true with all other central office officials.

Wolcott (1973) observes in his study,

> I have no record of [Ed Bell, the elementary principal], calling the superintendent or of the superintendent calling him, although calls were sometimes exchanged between Taft School and the superintendent's office (i.e., his secretary) concerning the preparation of reports requested specifically by the superintendent (210).

Not being able to gain access to the superintendent and other school leaders, principals resort to other means. District meetings is one way to establish contact. A variety of official meetings take place during the course of the school year. Principals' meetings are one of the most common. These meetings are usually scheduled so that elementary and secondary

principals may meet separately or together. Data collected for this study indicate that the most usual pattern is to have elementary principals meet early in the morning with the others meeting later. The consequence of this schedule is that those who meet later have the opportunity to go out to lunch after the meeting while the elementary principals depart to their schools. Since the leaders of the school district are readily accessible, it is likely that secondary principals are able to interact with them under informal conditions.

Membership in various school district committees would also provide a means for the development of extensive interpersonal relationships. Because of the great number of elementary principals, the likelihood of a particular elementary principal being selected is lessened. High school principals, on the other hand, are likely to hold a position in almost all district-wide committees.

Meetings also serve other functions which accentuate the differences between elementary and secondary principals. Wolcott (1973:122) describes the function of meetings in the following way:

> The latent functions of meetings, especially those within the educator subculture, accomplished rather different purposes. First, they served to validate role - to give visible evidence of being engaged with the "problems and issues" of schooling. Secondly, and more importantly, they served to validate existing status hierarchies and to provide a continuing process for reviewing each person's position in those hierarchies. What actually transpired at any of the meetings was never as important as the underlying issue of who would call a meeting for what purposes, who felt obligated to attend, and what kind of priority was adequate for an excuse.

(Activities)

Elementary and secondary principals differ in the manner by which they conduct their tasks. Elementary principals tend to confine themselves

to their schools. They are also likely to wish to restrict their responsibilities to their schools. For example, Covel (1977) reports that

> principals stated privately and two stated in principals' meetings that they wished central office administrators "would leave them alone" and not "continue to pile on work loads and interfere with the daily job of running a school." Another asked in a meeting, "Why don't you (central office) take on the business of collective bargaining and leave us principals alone to run our schools?" (126).

Wolcott's (1973) description is similar in the following passage:

> Ed felt a perpetual sense of responsibility toward the school building. It was not unusual for him to go to the school or to drive by it sometime during the weekend, and occassionally he spent some time on Saturday in his office "catching up on paper work" - that is preparing written reports (95).

Elementary principals, then, view their tasks as being more centrally focused on their school while secondary principals are oriented more towards the district. Elementary principals are engaged more often in tasks that are directly connected to their school whereas secondary principals hold committee memberships throughout the district.

Opportunity

As was stated earlier, the elementary principalship is the least likely to lead to any other administrative position. It is also the position most likely to be permanent for its members. There are several reasons for this.

Where else can elementary principals move? They can go to the central office. However, movement into the central office does not necessarily mean assuming an administrative position. Holding the elementary principalship does. This, then, leads to a tendency to retain the elementary principal's position.

The administrative position most likely to be held by women is the

elementary principalship. Since most women don't assume an administrative position prior to about fifteen years of experience, those women who finally do obtain the position may not be especially desirous of continuing the upward move. Also, these individuals are now competing with much younger white males for the other positions. This contributes to the elementary principal's position being of limited opportunity.

The secondary principalship position, on the other hand, tends to be more fluid. The AASA study (1960) found that the superintendents were more likely to come from the secondary school ranks.

The high school principalship, then, is the principals' highest hierarchical position. Its functions are not only related to the building site, but expand across the school district. But most important, it is the only position which moves the individual towards the core of the organization. It is the position which most likely provides for ready access to the superintendent and others in the central office; it provides for general exchange of district-wide information and the most direct linkage to the superintendency position.

Central Office

Other administrative positions are located in the central office. This office is the hub of the school district's governance. School board meeting and work rooms and the superintendent's office are located there. All of the district's personnel and finance offices are to be found there as are the instructional and support services. In addition, such services as research and evaluation, affirmative action, social welfare and others may also be housed in the central office.

Administration Versus Others

Most positions in the central office are assumed after some teaching experience. Those positions which are designated as administrative require administrative experience and a State Administrative Credential. Since this study is concerned with administrative positions, the central office posts most intensively studied are those which are held by administrators.

The best indicator to distinguish those positions which provide the opportunity for attaining the superintendency and those which don't is the requirement of the administrative credential. Another way is to distinguish line and staff positions. Those positions which do not require an administrative credential are clearly staff positions. Those which do require an administrative credential may or may not be line positions.

Other indicators which establish differences between central office positions are those described by McGivney and Haught (1972) and Gittell (1967). They do not distinguish between those holding and those not holding an administrative credential. From the description they provide of the three major subjgroups, this researcher would assume that those members do hold administrative credentials.

The primary distinction between the three major subgroups is that one is likely to provide opportunity to obtain the superintendency while the other two do not. Accepting the McGivney and Haught and Gittell descriptors and applying the theoretical framework presented here will serve to distinguish central office positions more explicitly.

McGivney and Haught distinguish two major groups. One of the groups described consisted of those careerists confined to the central office positions. Its three important characteristics were:

> [It] interacted on a daily basis both functionally and socially and officially interacted at a monthly supervisory council meeting; position holders held considerably more tenure in the district than did members of the first major subgroup and, as one result of this enure, showed a preference for the leadership style of the former superintendent under whom they also served; and its significant others were building principals and teachers rather than the board of education (26).

Those careerists in the central office occupying positions directly below the superintendency comprise a second group described by McGivney and Haught (1972) in the following passage:

> This major subgroup has three characteristics: [It] interacts on a daily basis and in the weekly administrative staff meetings led by the superintendent; position holders have considerably less tenure in the district than do members of the second major subgroup; and its significant other is the board of education (25).

The third group is different from the two McGivney and Haught report upon. Gittel (1967) refers to this group as the operational field staff. Its members may be housed in the central office and their activities, the persons with whom they interact and their place in the hierarchy is distinct from the other two. This study reports on members of this group which are similar to Gittell's operational field staff with one exception. They are confined to activities in the central office and interaction with selected members of the school district.

In furthering the analysis of central office positions and using the major distinctions established above as starting points, we will now apply the theoretical framework to determine the positions' organizational characteristics.

Hierarchy

Hierarchically, those positions directly below the superintendency are

few in number, tend to carry associate, deputy, or assistant superintendency titles and command higher salaries. In contrast, the second group tends to have more general titles such as director, coordinator, administrator, consultant, assistant director, specialist, or manager. The third group is usually referred to as area superintendent or administrator.

Organizational Space

(Working Environment)

The working environment for these three groups differs in several important aspects. Associate, deputy and assistant superintendents tend to have their own offices and secretaries located next to the superintendent. Members of the other two groups tend to have combined offices with shared secretarial help and telephone service. In addition, the operational field staff and their counterparts are usually placed away from these two groups and closer to other support staff housed in the central office.

(Interpersonal Relationships)

The opportunity for the development of intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships is obvious. Those individuals in the first group are located next to the superintendent and board of education members and furthest from everyone else. The data collected for this study indicate that with the exception of one (and this changed during the term of the study), the superintendents' offices were located on the highest floor of the district building while everyone else was below that. Holding these prized positions is proof of their extensive network of support throughout the school district. Reference groups or "significant others" is an indication of the quality of interpersonal relationships. The three groups differ. The first group's "significant others" being the superintendent and the school board,

the second being the principals and teachers, and the third being the community or selected school personnel. Gittell (1967) writes, "A comparatively large number of [area superintendents] viewed their public relations role as especially significant" (82).

When asked more specifically for whom they were responsible, most area administrators agreed that the principals were their particular concern. Few indicated that the supervision of teachers was a primary responsibility. Follow-up questions on their contact with principals, however, revealed a surprising lack of contact, except in formal monthly meetings. Individual conferences with principals were rare, evaluation scanty, and services to principals limited. Although these district superintendents can appoint principals in their districts, only two had done so, and only one had rated a principal after appointment.

(Activities)

The members of the group directly below the superintendent are the most influential in the establishment of school policy. They are equally influential in implementing the policy and protecting the school district. McGivney and Haught (1972) state, "In fact, it appears that those who are appointed at the pleasure of the superintendent and the board have reversed the assumed relationships and have co-opted much of the policy-making apparatus of the school district" (35). The nature of their task is clearly central to the organization.

In contrast, the second group conducts its major tasks with those outside the central office - principals and teachers. The major concerns are instruction, building site materials, equipment and services. The third group, the area superintendents', activities are enumerated by Gittell

> When asked about activities on a typical day, these superintendents commonly noted visits to school and group meetings with staff. Such visits, however, have little to do with review of teachers, principals, or curriculum. Finally, meetings with parents and outsiders are more common than meetings with principals or teachers.

The other members of this group work on routine matters which confine them to a few selected persons within the school community.

Opportunity

These positions are, then, different in their content of opportunity. The first major group described above provides opportunity for the acquisition of the superintendency. But equally important the position at the present time offers opportunity for interaction among those who matter in the organization. It also provides an opportunity to engage in the most important functions of the organization.

The second group provides opportunity for stabilizing an administrative career at this juncture. It engages in worthwhile activities and offers support to the superintendent and his associates. The third group, on the other hand, is not expected to provide opportunities for any further movement in the organization. In fact, individuals occupying these posts don't appear to have acquired them as rewards. Data collected for this study reveal that these positions are acquired by those whom it is perceived can contain community conflict or by those individuals who have erred in the school system at some time but for some reason it was not possible to remove them.

Power

Those positions comprising the first group are the "power" positions of

the organization. Occupying these positions provides the individual with power absent everywhere else throughout the organization. The other two groups are subservient to the school board, superintendent, and his associates.

In brief, the central office positions may be contrasted along several dimensions. Each dimension accentuates the distance from the superintendency and from the core of the organization.

Central office positions differ in their requisite of an administrative credential. They also differ in their "significant others." One group interacts with the superintendent and board members within the same building and area. The other group interacts with principals and teachers. The third group interacts with those "out on the field," with the community, or with selected ones within the school district. The combined characteristics contribute to important differences between the positions and differing consequences for those individuals occupying them.

The above mentioned positions are those most likely to be held by white males. The posts are also those which provide the most traditional educational administration careers. Moreover, they are the positions which permit persons to administer and manage adults and organizational units.

Administrative Posts Occupied by Women

There are other administrative positions within the hierarchy of school administration. These posts are usually associated with instruction and are predominantly occupied by women.

The Specialist

The position of the specialist is an ambiguous one. It may or may not require an administrative credential. Specialists may be housed at either

the central office or a particular school. Elementary specialists tend to be housed in building sites. Secondary specialists tend to be housed at the central office.

Hierarchy

The specialist reports to one of several superiors: the building principals, central office coordinators, or to both. If the specialist is housed in a school building, it is likely the principal acts as her superior. If the specialist is housed at the central office, then a central office official is likely to act as her superior. It is not, however, uncommon for these specialists to be evaluated by several principals and central office position holders. This means that specialists are hierarchically just above the teachers but below the principal. In some cases, specialists may be considered as being on the same level as principals but as staff members rather than as line officers of the organization. In this case, central office personnel are responsible for evaluating them.

Organizational Space

(Working Environment)

The working environment of the specialist is diffused and differentiated. Several important differences exist between these positions and that of the teacher. First, specialists may or may not perform their tasks from a permanent classroom. When they do have permanent classrooms, students and teachers move in and out of them during the day. Another arrangement may be that the specialist goes to other teachers' classrooms and conducts her tasks from there. Still, another arrangement may be that the specialist uses several classrooms or instructional sites between several schools. In that case, both the specialist and teachers and students move in and out of class-

rooms during the day. A fourth way is where specialists are available for consultation to teachers. The consultation may take place in the supervisor's office or at the teachers' school or classroom. Principals may also call on specialists for particular help in certain areas. This means that the working environment for specialists is varied, indefinite and in many cases borrowed.

(Interpersonal Relationships)

The most fundamental difference between teaching and being a specialist is the addition of adults to the work load. Even though many specialists continue teaching students, in all cases they must interact with teachers. This is so because the students are not the specialists' but rather the teachers' responsibility. This means that at the very least the specialist must now establish a working relationship with teachers.

The relationship between the specialist and the principal also changes. A new structure emerges which allows the principal to assume administrative and managerial responsibilities and the specialist to engage in instructional supervision. These changes create a critical problem for specialists in determining who evaluates their work and effectiveness. They may have several persons who "report" on their effectiveness including principals and various central office staff members.

The crucial difference in this assignment is that the specialist role does not necessarily mean departing totally from the classroom, instruction and children, but it does mean increased interaction with adults. The adults are usually teachers, but may also be other specialists and central office personnel. In this way, opportunities for developing extensive interpersonal relationships are increased. Also, the specialist has new and expanded

occasions to develop intensive interpersonal relationships with the principals and central office staff.

(Activities)

Specialists engage in various kinds of activities. Some continue teaching students in large or small groups depending on their specialty. For example, a mathematics specialist might teach a concept to combined classroom consisting of 90 students while a learning disabilities specialist might teach highly specific skills to one or two students. These activities lead to quite different consequences. Whereas, the mathematics specialist has wide visibility and opportunities for interaction with many, the learning disabilities specialist may be highly restricted to her laboratory setting. Another consequence is that the activities are predominantly instructional and oriented towards children. This is antithetical to an administrative career.

There is also another type of activity in which specialists might engage. This is in coordinating the instruction of the particular specialty. The primary activities include scheduling of classes and students, helping teachers and performing regular administrative duties. They may be responsible for developing curricular plans, writing curriculum guides, preparing and ordering materials and equipment.

A third activity in which these specialists may engage in is administering particular local, state and/or federal programs. This requires proposal writing, program monitoring, and program evaluation. As specialists increase their involvement in programatic activities, they decrease their involvement with students and instruction. This preoccupation with programs is more closely akin to administration. For example, 1) interaction with "program oriented" specialists increases, 2) interaction with school officials

responsible for program funding, implementation and evaluation increases, and 3) more time is spent in "an office" preparing reports.

In brief, the activities in which specialists engage are increased in complexity due to the addition of adults to their work. Activities may be of two major sorts: instruction or program administration. Those who engage in instruction may deal with either large or small groups and with many or few teachers. Those who engage in program administration are usually housed at the central office, operate from an office, and deal with other specialists and central office position holders. The activities associated with program administration are more closely allied to an administrative role than those associated with instruction.

Opportunity

There are several opportunites available in the specialist position. First, there is at least partial departure from the classroom and instruction. Second, the role has changed in regard to the relationship to other teachers. Third, it is a post which provides increased visibility and schedule flexibility. Those specialists who engage in instruction are not as likely to become administrators. Those specialists placed at the central office and who are engaged in program-associated activities may become administrators. The supervisory and other staff positions within the central office are also more readily accessible to the latter group. Specialists can advance to become supervisors and to hold higher ranking staff positions within the central office hierarchy. However, this advancement may or may not be readily apparent to district personnel which contributes to an ambiguous perception of the position.

Supervisors

Supervisors are normally former specialists. The supervisory post is usually acquired as a reward for work well done as a specialist. Supervisors are also likely to be those former specialists housed at the central office. Supervisors seldom come directly from the classroom. They may have held an elementary principalship position.

Hierarchy

The supervisory role is encompassed in many titles such coordinator, director and assistant administrator. Generally, supervisors and principals are at about the same hierarchical level. The chief distinction between them is that supervisors are staff officers whereas principals are line officers.

Briner and Iannaccone (1966:192) report on the differences between secondary supervisors and principals. They state, "In the chain of command, the principals and supervisor appeared as classical line and staff officers." They summarized the hierarchical placement of them in the following passage:

> That is, each office is working with a common subordinate (teacher) and a common superordinate (associate superintendent) was capable of exercising two bases of social power or sources of influence - 1) status as legal authority legitimated by general acceptance of impersonal rules and 2) personal prestige derived from the quality of technical knowledge (193).

Organizational Space

Because the central office encompasses varying types of functions, a variety of positions is available.

(Working Environment)

Supervisors are generally housed at the central office. They are usually grouped in some manner so that secretaries, telephones and other services are shared. Briner and Iannaccone in contrasting principals and supervisors

write,

> Principals' offices were larger and better equipped for study and conferences. Clerical and staff assistance was more readily available to principals for planning and conducting professional meetings, opinion surveys, and research efforts. These status symbols were visible expressions of promotional achievement in the administrative hierarchy (193).

(Interpersonal Relationships)

Because supervisors deal primarily with instructional matters, their "significant others" are principals and teachers. However, being placed at the central office does provide opportunities to interact withcentral office superiors. In detailing the interpersonal relatinnships necessary in their work, Briner and Iannaccone (1966) present a description on time allocation to the various groups which interact with principals and supervisors.

> Within schools, the principals spent the most time with assistant principals, secretaries, and head counselors regarding school business and much less time with department chairmen. The supervisors interacted most with teachers and department chairmen and less with assistant principals. Outside the school, the principals spent the most time with the assistant superintendent for secondary education, the administrator assignments, and those involved with managerial functions. Supervisors interacted most with other subject supervisors, high school principals, the administrator of assignments, and the assistant superintendent. The work-association patterns of principals and supervisors within schools seemed negatively related. The supervisors spent more time with teachers than with assistants to the principal, whereas the converse was true of principals. Also, the supervisors spent more time conducting their business with principals than did principals with supervisors. Similar amounts of time were spent by both with the assistant superintendent and administrator of assignments (194).
>
> In amount of time spent, supervisors worked primarily with principals as well as teachers, whereas principals worked secondarily with supervisors and teachers. These relationships existed in spite of the same organizational level of both offices, as indicated by almost equivalent times spent by each with the associate and assistant superintendents (195).

The above indicates that supervisors' interpersonal relationships are

confined to those most directly involved with instruction and students.

(Activities)

Most supervisors deal with instructional matters. This might include resource allocation and district-wide scheduling of the various instructional activities.

Briner and Iannaccone (1966) compare the activities engaged in by principals and supervisors. They write

> The duties of the principal were characterized by words indicative of command functions such as: organizes, directs, supervises, exercises, administers, plans, allocates, and certifies; the supervisor provides, assists, participates, develops, plans, furnishes, and conducts, suggesting a more indirect influence (192-193).
>
> The nature of work regarding instruction was distinctive for each office. The principal's office dealt mainly with a multiplicity of managerial tasks, which precluded working extensively with department chairmen and teachers on instructional matters interacting with teachers, department chairmen, and principals (195).

Opportunity

The supervisory position provides an opportunity for the establishment of a career as a staff member in the central office of a school district. The post may or may not be highly stable. It may also be an advancement in the staff hierarchy. A rare opportunity also exists for promotion into the deputy, associate, or assistant superintendency of instruction. In general, however, the supervisory position provides lateral movement and a secure career at the central office.

It has been seen how the positions of specialist ans supervisor create a staff structure, primarily for women, within the educational administration organization structure.

Administrative Posts Occupied by Minorities

Within the school structure there is also a substructure consisting of minorities. This substructure is normally referred to as special projects.

Special projects administration is composed of those responsible for programs normally supported to provide special aid and services to particular student groups. Minority students are primary targets. Within special projects, many positions of varying titles and responsibilities are created to carry out the mandates of the numerous programs.

The positions are to serve one general purpose and that is to administer the programs created for special groups of students. For example, a bilingual education director may be in charge of all of the bilingual programs in the school district. Other assistant administrator positions may be created below that post which conduct in-service training, coordinate curricular offerings, and/or personnel. Because there are a number of these positions available within a school district it is uncertain about where a particular position may be located hierarchically. However, there are a few characteristics about these posts which aid in determining their structural placement.

If the position is one in which the office holder is housed in a school site, it can be assumed that the position is equal to or above that of teachers. If the position holder does a lot of teaching and little managing and if the principal is responsible for the person's evaluation, the person's post is likely to be equal to that of teachers. If the person is in charge of several schools and programs and is evaluated by a supervisor in the central office, even though housed at the school site, the position is hierarchically slightly above that of teachers but below that of principals.

If the position is housed at the central office and the person is

evaluated by a central office position holder, then that post is decidedly above that of teachers. It may be equivalent to that of principals. If the position is titled director, rather than assistant administrator, coordinator, specialist or supervisor, the position is likely to be equivalent to or above that of principal.

As stated before, minorities are placed in organizational positions which are separate from the parent organization. One reason is because these programs exist through the funding provided by external agencies. The positions are dependent on those special funds and therefore, they have to be granted on a, more or less, temporary basis. In other words, moving from teaching to special projects is not the same as advancing from teaching to the principalship.

There are several reasons for this. First, the assumption of special projects positions is not viewed as a promotional move or as a reward granted for outstanding accomplishments. Instead, it is viewed as filling a post by someone who has "native ability" and may be better than the other minorities. Second, the position will last only as long as funds for the position are available. The position of the principalship is necessary to the organization and it is not likely that it will disappear. Furthermore, a career cannot be established within the post such as in the case of the elementary principalship. Beyond that, the principalship is a position which affords extraordinary opportunities for further advancement. Most special projects posts cannot provide any of these advantages.

In conclusion, the positions created by special funds are temporary regardless of their hierarchical placement. The greatest benefits they can provide are immediate, such as salary, experience, and title. They cannot insure careers for minorities.

One of the offices which is created by external funding serves as a link between the school district and the ethnic community. Sometimes it is titled area administrator. Its purpose is to maintain harmonious relationships between the community and the school. It is not acquired as a promotion but as a contractual assignment. For example, Ravitch (1974) reports that "local boards hired their own district superintendents (area administrators) on acontractual rather than a tenured basis" (398). The consequence of this practice is that the position is not a secure one and it is not to be treated as a regular promotional move. Its hierarchical placement is ambiguous.

Organizational Space

(Working Environment)

As was stated previously, special projects posts house the occupant either at the school site or at the central office. At the school site, if the person is confined to the school, the working environment may not differ from that of teachers. However, if the position holder is responsible for several teachers in several schools throughout the district, the working space may resemble that of an administrator rather than a teacher. For example, an office with a telephone rather than a classroom would serve as the working area for the occupant.

Being housed at the central office does mean some fundamental changes from teaching. The occupant is located in an office instead of a classroom, with a telephone and clerical and secretarial services available. Depending on the position, the office space may be shared or private. For example, directors are likely to have private offices secretaries, and telephone service. This placement may be alongside other supervisors and school administrators. The rest of the position holders may be grouped together within a large unit of special projects.

The working environment for the area administrator is modest. It is usually located where it is most accessible to his/her constituencies. In this case, it is not uncommon to find the office located at a high school. In smaller districts, it may be located at the central office. The most pronounced characteristics of this office are that they must appeal to the ethnic community. Therefore, the office decor may be ethnic, sparse, or neutral. Because community people are expected to frequent the office it is a place that is accessible to them but invisible to the decision-makers. Therefore, this work place is usually located on the first floor and somehow separated from the rest of the central office personnel, for example, it may be at the end of a long hall.

(Interpersonal Relationships)

The fundamental difference between special projects administrators and teachers is that they deal with adults. Because they are working with minority concerns, they generally deal with other minorities. The exception is if the position holder is the only one housed at the school site who works with minority students. In that case, the interaction with adults may be minimal.

If the person is in charge of several schools and teachers, there are expanded opportunities for interaction, especially with other minorities. In the case of the area administrator, the significant others are community persons. This means that there are limited opportunities for interaction with school officials and school board members. Most important, they have little influence among teachers and principals because their major group of interest is the community. In sum, the opportunity for the development of intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships among the school organization's

participants is slight.

If the person is located at the central office, the interaction may expand to non-minority adults. There are several features which contribute to this. To the extent that not all minorities are placed within the same working area, interaction with non-minorities will increase. To the extent that the position requires dialogue with the associate superintendents, superintendent and school board members, interaction with non-minorities will increase.

The position which contains this characteristic to the greatest degree is the directorship. Because the school district's responsibility for these programs is lodged in the director, he needs to maintain a constant, continuing relationship with the superintendent, his associates and the school board. This provides for the development of intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships within the organization.

(Activities)

Several types of special projects administrators have been identified. Those who are located at the school and whose responsibilities are within the school engage in activities confined to students and instruction.

Those who are located at the school site but whose responsibilities extend to other schools and teachers, engage in more varied activities. They may instruct students, conduct workshops and in-service training for teachers and teacher aides. But the fundamental change is that they have added administration and managerial duties to their work load. They prepare reports, coordinate programs, order materials and equipment, construct schedules and increase their interaction with adults.

Area administrators, on the other hand, interact heavily with community

persons. They attend community functions, speak at community gatherings, listen to community members' concerns and in general serve as school district representatives. They do not, however, normally speak for the school district. The data for the present study indicate that those who forget this are severely sanctioned by the superintendent and his associates and the school board.

Thus, the one group, which is responsible to the community, engages in activities related to the community's interests. Its activities are confined to the community members. These administrators aid in preserving calm in the school district's ethnic communities.

Those who are located at the central office may conduct in-service workshops and training for teachers, and other school personnel. Mostly, though, they are engaged in administering and managing programs. They coordinate curricula, construct schedules, prepare reports, proposal and many other written materials. Those in the lower ranks are confined to their desks at the central office and they work primarily with each other or with minority teachers and principals. Those in the higher ranks, such as the director, work with the superintendent, his associates, and the school board. His responsibility is to explain the special projects, to see that the guidelines, rules and regulations are adhered to, and to inform the school district about the progress of the special projects. .

Opportunity

Positions allocated to minorities are of various sorts. The most important characteristic is that with the exception of the top, usually the directorship, position all other positions do not lead to careers outside the

special projects structure. They may lead to higher hierarchical posts within the same structure, but because they are defined as temporary, they are not likely to lead anywhere else.

There are, however, some opportunities afforded to minorities who would be denied administrative experiences in any other setting. First, these positions do permit the person to depart from teaching. Second, the post increases interaction with adults. Third, it affords increased visibility among minorities throughout the district. Fourth, as long as funds are available for these special projects, these persons are employed in posts which are better when compared to other minority possibilities.

The greatest opportunity is available to the highest post, the director. Because this office and the entire structure of special projects is dependent on external funds, there is a certain independence from the parent organization. Those directors who can continue to generate and increase funds can gradually assume considerable influence within the district. They can see to it that those employed within the structure benefit in specific ways to create loyalty and a following for them as well as for the structure. For example, travel funds can be made available to school personnel. Extra services, such as clerical and support services can be provided as well as especially equipped offices and classrooms. All of these aspects can create a structure which differs from the parent organization.

There is an additional component to this. Since the special projects are designed to align with community interests, the community can also provide a strong political force for it. This is, of course, due to its external support which increases its independence from the parent organization and

maximizes structural autonomy.

Power

From the previous passage it can be seen how power can accrue to the directorship position if certain conditions are met. This power insures that minorities participate in the organization, that they occupy offices within the organization and that the moneys which are directed to them are spent among them.

This doe not, however, insure that minorities are integrated within the organization. In fact, it may have an opposite effect in that the separate groups are strengthened and rigidified. Also, the power that is exerted by minorities is external over their own group. That aspect can create unrest among those who resent better conditions for minorities, but it does not disrupt the existing ties among them. Moreover, since decision-making posts are occupied by others, minorities are effectively immobile. These are severe limitations to the power available to minorities through the occupation of special projects administration.

Conclusions

It has been seen how school administration is structured in three broad areas. White males administer and manage adults through the regular, permanent, and line positions. Women instruct children through the occupation of the staff positions of specialist and supervisor. Minorities direct and contain other minorities through the occupation of special projects posts.

Each of these structures can be further characterized by their

hierarchical placement, organizational space consisting of differing working environments, opportunities to develop intensive and extensive interpersonal relationships and activities. Moreover, the posts within each of the groups differ in their degree of opportunity and power.

The ultimate consequence of this structure is differing careers for the three groups.

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